

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W
----- 021839

P R 241930 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7291

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY

USDOCOSOUTH

USEUCOM

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 970

EXDIS

NOFORN

TEHRAN FOR AMBASSADOR POPPER

E. O. 11652: XGDS 1

TAGS: PINS, PFOR, CY, GR

SUBJECT: CYPRUS: GRIVAS AND GOG

REF: STATE 74117; ATHENS 2227 AND 2393; ANKARA 3069: NICOSIA 937

BEGIN SUMMARY: WE BELIEVE THAT CLERIDES' RESIGNATION
THREAT WAS EFFORT TO FORCE GOG TO CURB GRIVAS, AND TO ARREST
LOCAL TREND

TOWARD VIOLENCE. DOUBT HE WILL MAKE GOOD
ON THREAT UNLESS SITUATION WORSENS. WE RECOMMEND USG
CONSIDER MAKING CLEAR TO GOG IN WASHINGTON AND ATHENS WHY
WE THINK ITS AMBIVALENCE TOWARD GRIVAS DAMAGES ITS INTERESTS
AND OURS. OUR PRESENTATION SHOULD NOT BE BASED UPON
CLERIDES' RESIGNATION THREAT, NOR SHOULD IT SUGGEST THAT
WE THINK IMMEDIATE INTERCOMMUNAL AGREEMENT IN SIGHT ONCE
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GRIVAS PROBLEM REMOVED. WE BELIEVE TIME WILL BE NECESSARY TO RESTORE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. END SUMMARY

1. REF DEPTTEL CITED NUMBER OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS PROBABLY PUSHING GREEK GOVT TO CONTROL GRIVAS OR AT MINIMUM DIASSOCIATE ITSELF FROM HIS ACTIVITIES. TO THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE NOW BEEN ADDED A) STIFF TURKISH DEMARCH IN ANKARA ASKING GREEK AMB WHETHER CONTINUING GRIVAS TERRORISM SIGNIFIES CHANGE IN ATHENS POLICY TOWARDS ANKARA, B) APPARENT RECOMMENDATIONS FROM GREEK AMBS IN ANKARA AND NICOSIA THAT GREEK GOVT PUBLICLY DENOUNCE GRIVAS AND HIS ACTIVITIES, AND C) UNSYG'S REPRESENTATION TO GREEK PERM REP PANAYOTACOS ON GRIVAS.
2. CLERIDES' THREAT TO ABANDON TALKS WAS PRESUMABLY MOST CONSEQUENTIAL DEVELOPMENT FROM GREEK GOVT STANDPOINT, THOUGH LESS EFFECTIVE DOUBTLESS THAN IF SAME THREAT HAD NOT BEEN MADE BEFORE. IN ANY EVENT, ATHENS DID NOT EXPLICITLY DISSOCIATE ITSELF FROM GRIVAS, BUT MADE ANOTHER IN SERIES OF EQUIVOCAL STATEMENTS WHICH OPPOSING GREEK CYPRIOT FACTIONS INTERPRET TO SUIT THEIR PURPOSES (NICOSIA 956). EFFECT OF GREEK GOVT STATEMENT HERE HAS BEEN TO RE- ENFORCE CONVICTION THAT ATHENS CONSENTS TO GRIVAS TERRORISM. SOME GREEK CYPRIOTS MAY ACCEPT ARGUMENT THAT ATHENS IS POWERLESS TO CONTROL GRIVAS; NO ONE HERE WOULD MAINTAIN GOG LACKS POWER TO DENOUNCE HIM.
3. WHILE CLERIDES HAS NOT YET SAID HE WILL STAY ON, WE THINK HE WILL. HE HAS MADE HIS MOVE AND IT HAS NOT YET SUCCEEDED, BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE HE IS PREPARED TO ABANDON ADMITTEDLY SLIM PROSPECTS OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. ALSO, APPEALS THAT HE REMAIN BY UNSYG AND GOG WILL SWEETEN PILL OF HAVING HIS BLUFF CALLED.
4. EMBASSY ATHENS HAS ASKED FOR OUR EVALUATION OF THE THOUGHT THAT CLERIDES AND GREEK GOVT HAVE MUTUAL INTEREST IN HEIGHTENING CRISIS SO AS TO BRING CLERIDES TO POWER AND RESTORE HARMONY BETWEEN ATHENS AND NICOSIA. WE UNDERSTAND THAT GREEK AND TURKISH EMBASSIES HERE HAVE ENTERTAINED THAT POSSIBILITY SINCE BEFORE RECENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN, AND BOTH WOULD BE PLEASED AT IDEA OF
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CLERIDES AS PRESIDENT. AS WE HAVE TOLD TURK EMB, THIS BEGUILING THOUGHT SIMPLY IGNORES LOCAL POLITICAL REALITIES. AMKARIOS IS THE POLITICAL POWER HERE FOR FORE-SEEABLE FUTURE, BARRING VIOLENT REMOVAL. IT WOULD BE POLITICAL SUICIDE FOR CLERIDES TO PIT HIMSELF AGAINST MAKARIOS, PARTICULARLY ON " PRO- TURKISH" PLATFORM INTO WHICH HE WOULD BE FORCED BY HIS INVOLVEMENT IN

INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. CLERIDES HIMSELF RECOGNIZES THIS REALITY AND HAS AVOIDED BEING DRAWN INTO CONTEST WITH ARCHBISHOP. HE IS MORE LIKELY TO BE SUCCESSOR THAN COMPETITOR, AND ONE OF TRAGEDIES OF PRESENT SITUATION IS THAT MODERATES LIKE CLERIDES ARE LOSING GROUND IN POLARIZATION OF POLITICS BETWEEN GRIVASITES AND LEFT.

5. WE BELIEVE CLERIDES' OBJECTIVE TO BE TWO- FOLD: TO BRING GREEK GOVT INFLUENCE TO BEAR AGAINST GRIVAS AND TO HAVE MAKARIOS CALL OFF ACTIVITIES OF ARMED GROUPS SYMPATHETIC TO HIM, PARTICULARLY LYSSARIDES FACTION. CLERIDES UNDOUBTEDLY EXPECTS THAT MAKARIOS WILL CLAMP DOWN ON PRO- GOVT COUNTERVIOLENCE IF GRIVAS TERRORISM CEASES, BUT NOT UNTIL THEN.

6. ATHENS' REFTELS SPEAK OF " INTERVENTION" AND USE OF NATIONAL GUARD TO HANDLE GRIVAS THREAT. GOC MAKES CLEAR THAT IT SEES SITUATION IN REVERSE (SEPTTEL TO FOLLOW). TI BLAMES ATHENS FOR CONNIVANCE IN GRIVAS' ACTIVITIES. WHAT IT WANTS IS FOR ATHENS TO REMOVE GRIVAS, FORCE HIM TO STOP OPERATIONS, OR AT LEAST DISAVOW HIM. FROM NATIONAL GUARD, IT SEEKS END OF ANTI- MAKARIOS PROPAGANDA, BUT NOT ASSISTANCE AGAINST GRIVAS. GOC ASSUMES SUCH ASSISTANCE WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY IF ATHENS TOOK ONE OF THREE STEPS ABOVE. DIRECT GREEK INTERVENTION OTHER THAN THAT ABOVE WOULD BE UNPOPULAR HERE EXCEPT AMONG EXTREME RIGHT WING, WHO OF COURSE WANT ATHENS' INTERVENTION FOR VERY DIFFERENT REASONS THAN TO IMPROVE ATHENS/ MAKARIOS RELATIONS, (IN EVENT OF THREATENED TURKISH ATTACK, OF COURSE, WE ASSUME CYPRIOTS WOULD EXPECT GREEK ASSISTANCE, AND THAT ATHENS WOULD FIND IT POLITICALLY NECESSARY TO DO EVERYTHING IT COULD IN FACE OF TURKISH MILITARY THREAT.)

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ACTION SS-25

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P R 241930 Z APR 73
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USDOCOSOUTH
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 970

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TEHRAN FOR AMBASSADOR POPPER

7. DEPT HAS ASKED FOR VIEWS AS TO WHAT, IF ANY,
ACTION IS CALLED FOR AT PRESENT TO PREVENT GRIVAS TERRORISM
FROM WRECKING INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS AND OBSTRUCTING
RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY.
ESSENTIALLY OUR ANSWER IS THAT UNITED STATES, AS GREECE'S
PRINCIPAL ALLY, SHOULD CLEARLY TELL GOG THAT WE BELIEVE
ITS HANDLING OF GRIVAS ISSUE IS DAMAGING ITS INTERESTS AND
OURS. WE BELIEVE VOICE OF USG, ADDED TO THOSE OF UNSYG,
TURKISH GOVT AND SOME OF ATHENS' OWN AMBASSADORS,
MAY EVENTUALLY PERSUADE GREEK GOVT THAT RISKS OF
COUTENANCING GRIVAS OUTWEIGH UNDERSTANDABLE PROBLEMS
IN MOVING AGAINST HIM.

8. WE HAVE BEEN MAKING FOLLOWING POINTS INFORMALLY, AND
BELIEVE THEY MAY INFLUENCE GOG IF MADE IN DEPT
AND ATHENS:

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A. GRIVAS VIOLENCE IS WEAKENING THOSE ON ISLAND
(INCLUDING CLERIDES) WHO WOULD ACCOMMODATE WITH TURKEY,
AND GRIVASIST ATTACKS ARE FORCING GREEK CYPRIOT
LEADERS INTO INCREASINLY STRONG ENOSIST STATEMENTS,
WHICH IN TURN MULTIPLY TURKISH SUSPICIONS OF BOTH NICOSIA
AND CYPRUS.

B. LOW- GRADE INSURRECTION IN CYPRUS PRECIPITATED BY GRIVAS
ENDANGERS CAREFULLY NURTURED GREEK- TURKISH
ACCOMMODATION. SHOULD VIOLENCE ESCALATE, STABILITY OF

NATO SOUTHEAST FLANK COULD ONCE AGAIN BE THREATENED.

C. GRIVAS TERRORIST ACTIVITIES HAVE TOUGHENED TURKISH DEMAND, AND WHILE THEY CONTINUE, RULE OUT REALISTIC CHANCE OF NEGOTIATED INTERCOMMUNAL SETTLEMENT.

D. INSOFAR AS GRIVAS SUCCEEDS, HE THREATENS TO PRESENT GOG WITH NIGHTMARE IT WOULD MOST WISH TO AVOID: CIVIL STRIFE ON ISLAND, WITH GRIVASISTS CALLING ON ATHENS TO TAKE CYPRUS IN NAME OF HELLENISM, AND ANTI- GRIVASISTS CALLING ON UN, US, USSR, AND EVEN TURKEY TO PREVENT IT.

E. ONLY EFFECTIVE WAY OF COUNTERACTING INFLUENCE OF CYPRUS COMMUNISTS AND LYSSARIDES IS TO IMPROVE GREEK- CYPRUS RELATIONS BY BRINGING GRIVAS UNDER CONTROL SO THAT ARCHBISHOP IS NOT FORCED TO RELY ON LEFT AS HIS ONLY BUTRESS AGAINST GRIVAS.

9. IN ADDITION, BELIEVE WE SHOULD COUNTER ANTICIPATED GREEK RESPONSE BY MAKING CLEAR THAT USG DOES NOT ACCEPT THAT GREEK GOVT IS POWERLESS TO CONTROL GRIVAS TERRORISM. REMOVING GENERAL MIGHT AT MOMENT PRESENT UNACCEPTABLE RISKS; HOWEVER, WE DO NOT BELIEVE COMPELLING HIM TO CEASE HIS ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES WOULD DO SO.

10. A FINAL WORD ON TIMING. WE ENVISAGE ABOVE AS EXTENDED DIALOGUE WITH GOG AND CLARIFICATION OF US POLICY, NOT AS SINGLE DEMARCHE. WE WOULD NOT TIE IT DIRECTLY TO CLERIDES' RESIGNATION THREAT, AND WE BELIEVE THAT USG SHOULD AVOID ANY SUGGESTION THAT GREEK ACTION

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WOULD LEAD DIRECTLY AND IMMEDIATELY TO NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. AT THIS STAGE, WE BELIEVE SOME TIME WILL BE NECESSARY TO REBUILD CONFIDENCE AMONG PARTIES BEFORE ANY ONE OF THEM WILL RISK COMMITTING ITSELF TO A SPECIFIC AGREEMENT.

11. DURING MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, WE THOUGHT IT BEST LET CLERIDES AND GREEK ENVOYS HERE AND IN ANKARA STATE THEIR CASES THEMSELVES, RATHER THAN JOINING FRAY. HOWEVER, WE THINK CLEAR ELABORATION OF US POSITION ON GRIVAS, JOINED WITH INFLUENCE OF OTHER CONCERNED PARTIES, WOULD ALTER PRESENT GREEK POLICY TOWARDS CYPRUS.

12. AMBASSADOR POPPER MAY WISH TO COMMENT FROM TEHRAN.
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